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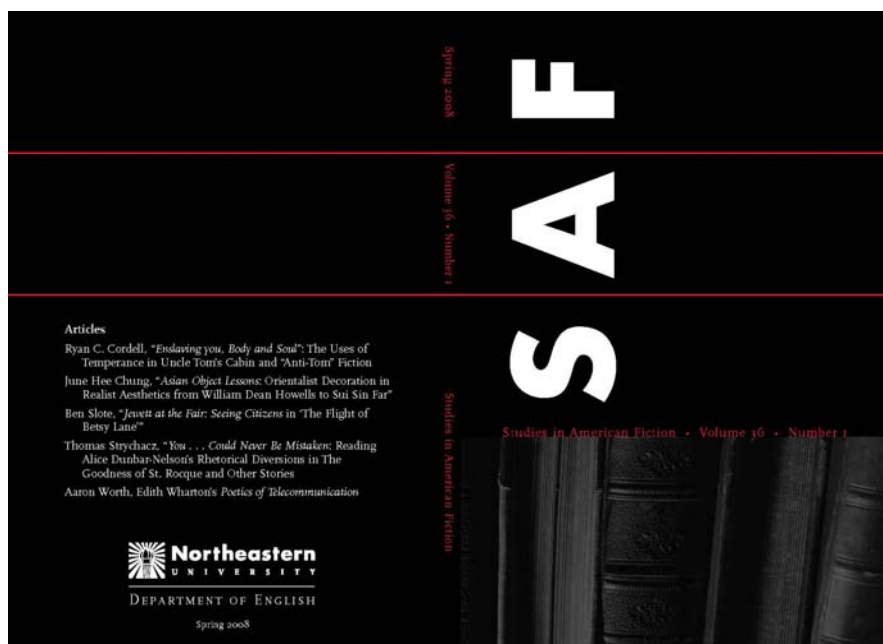
"Enslaving you, Body and Soul": the uses of temperance in Uncle Tom's Cabin and "Anti-Tom" fiction

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Ryan C. Cordell, "*Enslaving you, Body and Soul*": *The Uses of Temperance in Uncle Tom's Cabin and "Anti-Tom" Fiction*

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**“ENSLAVING YOU, *BODY AND SOUL*”:
THE USES OF TEMPERANCE IN
UNCLE TOM’S CABIN AND “ANTI-TOM” FICTION**

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A people corrupted by strong drink cannot long be a *free* people.

—Benjamin Rush, “An Inquiry Into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors”

Late in the afternoon of a chilly day in February, two gentlemen were sitting alone over their wine, in a well-furnished dining parlor, in the town of P——, in Kentucky.

—Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*

“Let Every Man Mind His Own Business,” one of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s early short stories, begins with two young, recently-married couples, as three of their number press a lone dissenter, Edward Howard, to sign the temperance pledge. At one point in the belabored conversation, Edward’s wife exclaims:

This tiresome temperance business! One never hears the end of it nowadays. Temperance papers—temperance tracts—temperance hotels—temperance this, that, and the other thing, even down to temperance pocket-handkerchiefs for little boys! Really, the world is getting intemperately temperate.¹

She is, of course, not entirely serious, and dutifully plays her part in her husband’s ensuing fall and reclamation. However, her flippant remark does echo what critics have, in recent years, begun to discover about temperance. Unlike abolition, temperance was a well established, thriving reform movement in 1852, and had been so since at least the 1830s. By the time Stowe penned her “Life Among the Lowly,” contemporary readers, parishioners, and theater-goers alike were quite familiar with another class of degraded souls: slaves to the bottle, rather than the planter. Scholarly focus on abolition and women’s rights has obscured the vast range and influence that temperance activism had in antebellum America. Indeed, much literary criticism of Stowe’s era fails to account for—or even notice—temperance at all, though in reach, scope, and longevity it was the dominant reform movement of its day, especially in the middle classes.

Carol Mattingly notes that “the largest group of rhetorically active women in nineteenth-century America was comprised of temperance women,” and this claim resonates strongly with John Frick, who observes that “In the first half of the nineteenth century, no single issue—not even the abolition of slavery—had a greater capacity for arousing the American passion than did the cause of temperance.”² Temperance societies such as the Washingtonians and the Sons (or Daughters) of Temperance multiplied in every major town and city, both North and South, claiming tens of thousands of members. In 1842, 11 percent of Baltimore’s free population, and 7 percent of New York City’s, were members of the Washingtonians, and Ian Tyrell conjectures that “probably hundreds of thousands of American women supported the temperance movement” during this same time period.³ These numbers demonstrate what sway this phenomenon had in the America of the 1840s and 1850s: temperance was widely disseminated, and manifest in all aspects of American life.

Temperance was not a political and social movement only, however; it was also immensely popular entertainment. As implied by Stowe’s delightful self-commentary in “Let Every Man,” there were temperance tracts, sermons, songs, paintings, short stories, novels, plays, and so forth produced almost *ad infinitum*. Temperance stories were printed in daily newspapers from New York to New Orleans, and temperance plays sold out theaters. William H. Smith’s play *The Drunkard* “was probably America’s most successful play” before George Aiken’s adaptation of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* succeeded it, and *Uncle Tom* was later shaken—albeit temporarily—from this perch by William W. Pratt’s *Ten Nights in a Bar-room*.⁴ Before, during, and after the wild success of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s abolitionist novel, another discourse of reform absolutely saturated American society.

The tropes, figures, plots, and characters of temperance reform were so pervasive—and, one must suspect, so powerful and persuasive—that other nineteenth-century reform movements drew upon them, perhaps even unconsciously, when articulating their own concerns. Harriet Beecher Stowe infuses her great antislavery work, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, with what might be called a “familiar radicalism”: the language, figures, and plot devices of temperance fiction, as do many of the proslavery novelists who wrote in response to *Uncle Tom*’s success. Recognizing the form of temperance in narratives on both sides of the slavery debate offers insight into the workings of protest literature itself and offers scholars of Stowe a new reading of her most famous protagonist, Uncle Tom.

Carol Mattingly notes that “unlike most fiction written by women in the nineteenth century, temperance fiction does not *end* with the marriage

of the heroine, but, instead, generally *begins* with the wedding,” and it is almost universally true that the temperance tale “explores the very real problematic circumstances women must face after the ceremony,” rather than the drama preceding the vows.⁵ The marriage in question begins as a happy, promising, and decidedly middle-class arrangement. The new husband has grand prospects: Smith’s Edward Middleton is a businessman and landowner, Stowe’s Edward Howard is, somewhat more vaguely, “first in the society in which he moved,” and the husband in T. S. Arthur’s “The Drunkard’s Wife” is *Doctor Harper*. Caroline Lee Hentz’s Mr. Franklin is even more considerable: “a member of Congress, a distinguished lawyer.”⁶ Consequently, the wife in each story has good reason to believe that her marital decision has been made wisely; she, her friends, and her proud parents expect domestic bliss to follow in turn.

Then, inevitably, come the bottle and the descent, usually traced through three tiers of depravity. First, the happy and prosperous family is unbalanced, but only slightly, by the introduction of “demon” alcohol. Importantly, the first drink is never entirely the husband’s fault; his essential goodness, despite the dark turns each narrative will take, is not at question. This plot contrasts with what David S. Reynolds describes as a strand of “dark temperance” narratives, in which the characters are usually working-class, and the story focuses on the lurid, even prurient results of their alcoholic debasement. In these “dark temperance” tales, “individual drunkards [are] often portrayed as morally reprehensible and personally disgusting,” and the end result is almost always a gruesome death for the drunkard.⁷ Amanda Claybaugh refers to these as “cautionary temperance tales,” which pushed folk toward temperance out of sheer horror, but Reynolds implies that the appeal of these stories to readers may well have been more voyeuristic than reformist.⁸

In what I will call “domestic temperance” stories, however, the fallen husband begins as a paragon of *bourgeois* perfection, and never—even at his most degraded—entirely sheds a dimmed halo of his former goodness.⁹ Domestic temperance stories maintain continual hope for reformation, and so the drunkard retains enough humanity to warrant such an outcome. This narrative shaping begins early, as each story emphasizes the husband’s non-complicit or uninformed entrance into the dark night of spirits. In *The Drunkard* a begrudging lawyer, Cribbs, first leads Edward into the tavern and buys his first drink, feigning friendly collegiality. In “The Drunkard’s Wife” the doctor is offered “a good stiff glass of brandy” or wine when making house calls during winter, as a buffer against the cold.¹⁰ The first step is always minute and inadvertent, and the wife bears it with only moderate concern, if she is concerned at all.

The second movement of the domestic temperance narrative is more dramatic or, for many modern readers, melodramatic. The husband has become a lush, though perhaps not a drunk, and his tippling has become public knowledge. His business suffers as a result, and money begins to hemorrhage due to both the expense of his new habit and his flailing business concerns. “Mr. Franklin’s downward course” in “The Drunkard’s Daughter” is summarily described: “Since the night of his public exposure he had gone down, down, with a fearfully accelerated motion. . . . Public confidence was gradually withdrawn, clients and friends forsook him, and ruin trod rapidly on the steps of shame.”¹¹ An essential trope of temperance fiction is acted out during this liminal stage. Out of pure love and concern for her family, the “angel of the house”—usually the new-minted drunkard’s wife, but sometimes a devoted daughter—confronts the lapsed man about his condition, and appeals for reform.

When Grace Harper confronts her husband midway through “The Drunkard’s Wife,” she exemplifies this moment of appeal. Doctor Harper’s drinking, until this moment unacknowledged, is finally laid bare: “Doctor, I cannot conceal from myself, much as I desire to do so, the fact that you are not in a condition to go into company . . . [b]ecause you have been drinking too much.” The results of his degradation are likewise uncovered: “If all this seems strange to you, think why it is that Mr. Mabury sent for Doctor Elwell last week, to attend his little girl. There must be some good reason why he did not call you.”¹² The doctor, to his credit, is “in part, sobered” by his wife’s revelations. Typically, the temperance wife’s plea leads to confessions of guilt and resolutions of reform from the errant husband and father, resolutions that are soon discarded.

The third stage of the domestic temperance story displays, between tales and authors, the most variety. The family sinks into poverty and severe want, and is abandoned by the husband and father—“Alas, alas! my dear, lost husband!”¹³—as he pursues his vice every waking moment. The family moves to a shanty home as the angel of the house, be she daughter or wife, begins working to maintain room and board. The children usually become wan and ill, and the father universally becomes a bum and a wretch. At this moment, even in domestic temperance tales, the spectacles of dark temperance manifest themselves. In the preface to *The Drunkard* the author, who acted the title role in the play’s original production, brags about his own “terribly real” portrayal of Edward Middleton’s “malady,” noting that “the scene of *delirium tremens*” was particularly effecting.¹⁴ Scenes of drink-inspired madness and violence erupt at this low point in the temperance story, and the father’s neglect can lead even to the lingering death of a child or the wife and mother.

Whatever the exact details of their respective climaxes, in every tem-

perance story it seems true that “the morality of temperance sentiments was strongly reinforced . . . most powerfully, by the suffering of his wife and children,” and that this suffering climaxes in the third movement of the drunkard’s decline.¹⁵ In dark temperance narratives, these scenes of deprivation and destruction lead inexorably to death for the drunkard himself. However, the end of domestic temperance tales is redemption, as the husband and father finally steels himself to reform—often with the help his friendly local temperance activist—and finds renewal in both his life and business.

Michael Booth summarizes this ending well: “the hero signs the pledge and is rewarded by unexpected wealth, the imprisonment of the villain, a devotion to the cause of temperance, and renewed tenderness from his ever-faithful, ever-suffering wife.”¹⁶ The greatest sin of the drunken husband and father in temperance fiction is deeply rooted in the sentimental tradition; it is his abandonment of familial duties, his resignation of the joys and comforts of the domestic sphere, his exposure of his wife and children to evil surroundings and evil men. Jane P. Tompkins claims that in sentimental fiction tears serve as indicators of the higher, inexpressible, spiritual “experiences they point to—salvation, communion, reconciliation.”¹⁷ The most successful temperance tales ended in perfect sentimental fashion, with tears as both salve and salvation, and prospects of a return to respectable, if not affluent, middle-class life for the long-suffering family and the sobered male at its head.

The application of such tales to the story of an African-American slave may seem far-fetched, but a careful reading of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* reveals that temperance rhetoric and figures are intricately woven into Stowe’s seminal abolitionist work. First and most obvious is the demonization of alcohol itself throughout the novel. Nicholas O. Warner sees Stowe’s treatment of alcohol in *Uncle Tom* as more measured, and “sympathetic to the inner processes of the alcoholic’s mind,” than most temperance fiction or, indeed, Stowe’s own earlier stories such as “Let Every Man.”¹⁸

This is to some degree true, as neither Cassy nor the “old-rusk woman” Prue are condemned for imbibing. Prue’s pathetic conversation with Tom is used to interrogate the horrors of slavery far more than drink. Drinking does, for these characters at least, emerge “from the understandable desperation of those needing some anodyne from physical and psychic suffering,” as Eva says of Prue, “the poor creature was unhappy; that’s what made her drink.”¹⁹ Drinking in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* is always subsumed under slavery, the great evil of the novel. Characters drink more or less

based upon their own relationship to the peculiar institution, and their own participation, voluntary or otherwise, in its worst emanations.

Taverns dot the landscape of Stowe's novel, serving as havens for the book's most wretched characters: they are hives of scum and villainy. The bounty hunters Loker and Marks, for example, appear first in a bar-room scene:

“Let's go to business. Now, Mr. Haley, what is it?—you want us to undertake to catch this yer gal?”

“The gal's no matter of mine—she's Shelby's; it's only the boy. I was a fool for buying the monkey!”

.....

After exchanging a few words of further arrangement, Haley, with some visible reluctance, handed over the fifty dollars to Tom, and the worthy trio separated for the night. (*Tom* 72, 76)

When Simon Legree rounds up his posse to pursue Cassy and Emmeline later in the book, that posse consists of “overseers of plantations” and “some of Legree's associates at the tavern-bar of a neighboring city” (418). In *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, taverns are where runaway slaves are advertised, where bounty hunters seal contracts, and where slave hunters can be roused. That is to say, the only business available in Stowe's barrooms is dirty business, soul-destroying business.

Given the prevalence of temperance fiction in the years prior to *Uncle Tom*, the placement of Haley, Loker, and Marks in a saloon immediately tags them as suspect men to her readers, and their inebriation serves as “a conventional marker of moral decay.”²⁰ If their mere presence in a tavern is not sufficient to raise readers' hackles, their comfort and ease in such a place should. As Marks stands to leave, “That worthy cast a rueful look at the comfortable quarters he was leaving,” and this affectionate glance jars radically with the temperance reader's, who knows that same space as “a low den, where virtue was ignored and decency forgotten.”²¹ Stowe's villains look longingly at scenes Stowe's readers would know to despise, and their antagonistic relationship to both the good characters of the novel and the reader is highlighted by this incongruence.

Stowe does not align these base men with the titular drunkards of domestic temperance fiction—they are too far degraded, and at ease with their degradation, for that—but they certainly do stand in a line of succession to temperance villains, such as Lawyer Cribbs in *The Drunkard*. As this latter scoundrel plots to disrupt and disband the Middleton family, so do Loker and company plan the rending of Eliza from little Harry. That they plot this in a tavern may seem incidental, as the actual evil here is their enthusiastic participation in the slavery system. And yet, that they

plot this in a tavern is also, for Stowe's readers, an immediate cue that what they plot is legal but still despicable, and ultimately of the same cloth as the machinations of familiar temperance villains. While every drinker is not demonized in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the presence of spirits in a scene does point inexorably toward the evil of slavery, and reminds readers that demons rarely travel unaccompanied. To put it another way, drink is always a sign of degradation—whether forced or chosen—as a product and a cohort of slavery, the novel's overarching evil.

Frick notes of temperance rhetoric that "its emotionality and affective structure, when pitched to a popular audience that was struggling with the daily hardships of life, . . . was easily radicalized."²² This easy radicalization is precisely what Harriet Beecher Stowe's use of temperance tropes in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* gestures towards, perhaps even exploits. The difficulty with generic elements like these, however, is that they can be both generic—pertaining to a genre—and, by only a slight shift in valence, generic—vague, unspecific. Reynolds asserts that for some writers in the 1850s "the imagery of temperance reform had become . . . a colorful shell, largely devoid of didactic content,"²³ and this observation forces readers to ask whether Stowe's appropriation of temperance might be likewise meaningless or ineffectual. Are the tropes and figures of temperance that she employs simply shells: convenient, malleable figures, easily shaped to serve any political or ideological purpose? Might Stowe's use of temperance obscure the issue of abolition and replace it with emptied sentimental archetypes, devoid, by virtue of their prevalence or displacement, of explicit ideological or political content?

These disturbing possibilities seem plausible when one notices the very same temperance tropes, plots, and figures that Stowe employs in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at work in texts didactically opposed to it, in the so-called "anti-Tom" novels published in the months and years following Stowe's success. There were almost thirty novels published against *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, employing a variety of tactics to assail, refute, antagonize, and bewail the claims it made about the evils of slavery.²⁴ Railton comments that "It's . . . perhaps surprising to see how many similarities exist" between Stowe's novel and those of her opponents and "how little some aspects of Stowe's protest novel had to be changed in order to serve the other side of the issue she was protesting against."²⁵ In many of these oppositional tales, that uncomfortable similitude is marked, and one specific parallel between Stowe and her opponents is their appropriation of temperance rhetoric. Much like Stowe, these pro-slavery authors redirect figures from temperance tales—figures well-honed to speak opposition to

societal evil—toward their own political ends, toward the evil that is, for them, abolition.

The most obvious nods that anti-Tom novels make toward the temperance tradition are in the degraded, drunken, escaped slaves that appear in so many of them. It is the freed African-American, unmoored in the unforgiving, industrial north, who drinks in these stories, rather than the horror-scarred slave—Prue or Cassy—of *Uncle Tom*. In Vidi's *Mr. Frank, the Underground Mail-Agent*, Mr. Frank encounters two slaves he helped escape, Tom and Suse, in the North. Suse reports to Mr. Frank that, "Tom spent all de money you gib'd him, for whiskey," and Tom, who "was a well-dressed, obedient, steady" slave, is now "dirty, ragged, and saucy; and presented, in every respect, most unquestionable appearances of leading a drunken, vagabond life."²⁶

This type of drunkard is borrowed directly from dark temperance tales, and appears frequently in these reactionary novels. In W. L. G. Smith's *Life at the South*, Uncle Tom—yet another Tom—escapes to Canada, where the only work he can find is tending bar.²⁷ Although Smith's Tom never becomes a drunkard himself, to avoid that fate he must avoid the example of Jim Hard—a former slave who "never does anything but drink, and loiter around the tippling shops"—a feat Tom finally accomplishes by returning voluntarily to his master's plantation.²⁸ The former slave in the anti-Tom novel is easy prey to the bottle, evoking the "body and soul" enslavement decried in temperance rhetoric. These books characterize that utopian state of "freedom" as far more degraded than the slavery of the South is or ever could be.

As in Stowe's novel, in many anti-Tom novels the presence of alcohol in a scene indicates the moral state of either the characters present or the situation itself. Spirits in a scene direct the reader's indignation; they make explicit the evil. The drunkards are different in these anti-Tom tales—unfortunate freed slaves, opportunistic politicians, and fallen ministers—but the results of drink are the same as in *The Drunkard* or *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: violence, lust, and other assorted vices. Billy R. Dixey, in Vidi's *Mr. Frank*, is an abolitionist, politician, and a leader on the "Underground Mail-line," and he is introduced as "a gentleman sitting alone in the back parlor of the only tavern in the village of Liberty, Pennsylvania. . . . In the centre of the room stood a small, round pine table, which was covered with quite a variety of pitchers, tumblers and bottles; thus affording rather strong presumptive evidence that the occupant of the apartment was not an advocate of the temperance reformation" (*Frank* 9). In the unfolding scene, Dixey will declare his repugnance toward former slaves—"the very thought . . . is enough to make a man of fine feelings throw up"—admit his purely superficial political allegiance to abolitionism—"my patent move-

able platform”—and take several long swigs of whiskey while so expounding (*Frank* 14–15). When a knock is heard on the door, Dixey scrambles to clean up the proofs of his indulgence, afraid that they would “scarcely go down” with the titular Mr. Frank, “with his total abstinence, woman’s rights, spiritual rappings, vote-yourself-a-farm, general reform, ideas” (*Frank* 16). Dixey’s character is established in the first pages of *Mr. Frank*, just as Haley’s is in *Uncle Tom*, in large part through his easy association with heavy drink.

Were Vidi’s novel a temperance tale, Bill R. Dixey’s role would be to seduce Mr. Frank into the tavern and away from his beautiful daughter, Emma. And he does indeed separate the family, but the inducement is not spirits but abolition. Mr. Frank himself is virtuous: “A kinder, nobler heart than his, never beat in a human breast. It beat in harmonious unison with misery and suffering” (*Frank* 36). His virtue, however, misleads him toward activism in the South. He mistakes slavery for the ultimate “misery and suffering,” while ignoring abundant needs near his own home. His daughter sees more clearly, as do the household angels in temperance stories; “We are weak, erring, fallible creatures, and may magnify evils which we do not fully understand,” she pleads as she attempts to dissuade her father from leaving home (*Frank* 38). This heartfelt plea is ineffective, however, and Mr. Frank’s subsequent abandonment of her sets in motion the primary plot of the novel. The unfortunate, misguided drunkard-father is replaced by the unfortunate, misguided, abolitionist-father, the forms of temperance applied to the evil of emancipation.

Note that Mr. Frank, before he is even introduced, is identified as a temperance man, pointing toward his virtue as counter to Dixey’s vice. This figure—the virtuous temperance man—also appears frequently in anti-Tom literature, usually in the character of the plantation owner. Doctor Boswell, the hero of J. W. Page’s tongue-tying *Uncle Robin in His Cabin in Virginia, And Tom Without One in Boston*, is just such a man. When Mr. Frazer, a drunkard in the strictest temperance tradition, asks for a bit more than coffee during a visit—“Coffee’s very good, Doctor, but when a body’s thoroughly chilled, there is something better than coffee to take off the chill”—the good doctor replies indignantly, “I belong, Mr. Frazer, to the temperance society, and only keep spirit for medicinal purposes.”²⁹ The Doctor and Mrs. Boswell will spend the entire novel worrying about Mr. Frazer’s wife and children, and pressing the degraded man to sign the temperance pledge.

The plantation owners in anti-Tom novels also fill the role of “temperance man” more metaphorically. As the temperance man often appears in domestic temperance fiction to point out the error of the drunkard’s ways and lead him toward the light, so do these virtuous plantation own-

ers appear in anti-Tom novels to expose the follies of abolition to good-hearted but deluded Yankees. In *Mr. Frank* this figure is Doctor Manley—another Doctor with a particularly honorific name—who exposes the machinations of Dixey, enlightens Mr. Frank as to the truly benevolent nature of the South’s peculiar institution, and marries Emma Frank in the novel’s penultimate chapter. Temperance is a marked feature of the slave-owner in anti-Tom novels, and, as in both temperance fiction and *Uncle Tom*, a character’s aversion to drink in these pro-slavery works is a marker of moral clarity and trustworthiness.

Perhaps the most subtle use of temperance rhetoric in an anti-Tom novel can be found in V. G. Cowdin’s *Ellen; or, the Fanatic’s Daughter*.³⁰ *Ellen* is, almost verbatim, a temperance story, complete with a neglectful husband and father, a home ripped apart, a longsuffering wife, an ailing but angelic child, and a descent from affluence to poverty. Here, however, the father’s monomania is directed *not* toward drink, but toward emancipation; he is no drunkard but rather one of “those devilites, the abolitionists.”³¹ Like Vidi’s Mr. Frank, Ellen’s father leaves home for missions on the Underground Railroad instead of the tavern, but the effects on his family are exactly those with which readers of temperance tales were familiar.

Like the temperance father, Horace Layton is a good man led astray by the guile of another, in this case the conniving Parson Blake, a nominal abolitionist, “not from any real sympathy he had for the African race... but the abolition of slavery was the popular theme of the day in his locality, and popularity, in his estimation, was an important object” (*Ellen* 5). Reynolds notes that, by the 1850s, the “intemperate temperance man” had become a common target of anti-temperance satire, and anti-Tom novels constantly evoke this character, creating the “racist-abolitionist” who is, by association, often a drinker. Parson Blake, though his drinking is never specifically mentioned, is described as red faced, sensual, and forward, and his influence over Horace in the novel is a species of intoxication.

Ellen never follows Horton south; the story is, like the domestic temperance story, that of the wife and children left behind. The object of Horace’s wanderings matters little to Cowdin’s tale, as the effects of abolitionism on his family are identical to that of alcohol. Midway through *Ellen*, after Horace’s forays South have bereft his family of money and his young son has died from overwork at a local mill, his wife Mary enacts a scene quite familiar to the reader of midnineteenth-century fiction:

“My husband,” she continued, as kneeling before Horace, she clasped his hands within her own, “will you—oh! will you forsake this wicked man? See how he has dragged us down to poverty and wretched-

ness, by enslaving you, *body and soul*." (*Ellen* 56)

"Body and soul"—these three words resonate. Mary employs the language of slavery to describe her husband's tie not to the slave system, but to its abolition. The language of the temperance tale is here commandeered to describe a wayward husband, slave not to the bottle, but to misguided philanthropy.

In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* it is slave-traders and plantation owners who drink, whereas in anti-Tom novels it is crooked abolitionist politicians and escaped slaves. The Quakers—that is, the most thoroughgoing abolitionists—in Stowe's novel are teetotalers, while in anti-Tom novels the dry characters are almost universally the slave-owners themselves. Nevertheless, temperance figures work in anti-Tom novels in much the same way they do in Stowe's original. The moral function of alcohol is identical in both *Uncle Tom* and *Mr. Frank*: the presence of alcohol in a given scene indicates the depravity or foolishness of its characters, and instructs the reader to see the evil of the moment. The moral-indicative function of spirits is identical in the two works, though the political-ideological function is polarized.

While both Stowe and her detractors refer to the "familiar radicalism" of temperance, there is an important distinction to be made between them. The pro-slavery texts are far less interested in revising temperance tropes; their drunkards are all men, their longsuffering victims all women and children. Even in *Ellen*, the most inventive proslavery interpreter of temperance tropes, the temperance formula remains relatively static; abolition is condemned because of its effects on a Northern family and the hypocrisy of the story's primary abolitionist, but the actual institution of slavery receives no attention. *Ellen* elides asking real questions or advancing substantive arguments about slavery or abolition by focusing instead on the domestic temperance-inspired drama of Horace Layton and his family.

The temperance figures of anti-Tom fiction, in other words, are often the generic outlines that Reynolds calls "empty shells." Through the figure of Uncle Tom, however, Stowe inventively reshapes and reenergizes one of temperance's most familiar figures. Looking through the lens of these anti-Tom texts allows us to see Stowe's incorporation of temperance figures in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as more finely crafted, even more radical than it would perhaps seem in a vacuum. While she usually uses temperance tropes just as straightforwardly as do the anti-Tom texts—as we have seen in her characterizations of Haley, Loker, Marks, and Legree—the most interesting emanation of temperance rhetoric in Stowe's

novel is found not in the tavern with Loker, but in the progress of Tom himself, toward the Deep South and his own martyrdom.

In chapter 18 of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* there is an extraordinary exchange between Augustine St. Clare and Uncle Tom, which bears quoting at some length:

“Why, Tom, what’s the case? You look as solemn as a coffin.”

“I feel very bad, Mas’r. I allays thought that Mas’r would be good to everybody. . . . But there is one that Mas’r isn’t good to.”

“Why, Tom, what’s got into you? Speak out; what do you mean?”

“Last night, between one and two, I thought so. I studied upon the matter then. Mas’r isn’t good to *himself*.”

Tom said this with his back to his master, and his hand on the door-knob. St. Clare felt his face flush crimson, but he laughed.

“O, that’s all, is it?” he said, gaily.

“All!” said Tom, turning suddenly round and falling on his knees.

“O, my dear young Mas’r! I’m ‘fraid it will be *loss of all—all—body* and soul. The good Book says, ‘it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder!’ my dear Mas’r!”

Tom’s voice choked, and the tears ran down his cheeks.

“You poor, silly fool!” said St. Clare, with tears in his own eyes.

“Get up, Tom. I’m not worth crying over.”

But Tom wouldn’t rise, and looked imploring.

“Well, I won’t go to any more of their cursed nonsense, Tom,” said St. Clare; “on my honor, I won’t. I don’t know why I haven’t stopped long ago. I’ve always despised *it*, and myself for it,—so now, Tom, wipe up your eyes. . . . There, I’ll pledge my honor to you, Tom, you don’t [sic] see me so again. . . .” (*Tom* 211–12)

Here Augustine St. Clare evokes the wayward husband and father of temperance infamy, tripping off to the tavern instead of the church. He is no drunkard—yet—but his drinking is aligned with his carelessness, “shiftlessness” (in Ophelia’s often-used term of censure), and sloppy management of his business, his plantation. The *Southern Quarterly Review*, in a lengthy review-*cum*-indictment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, pointed sarcastically at St. Clare: “This . . . humane and cultivated gentleman, beside an occasional habit of being ‘helped home in a condition when the physical had decidedly attained the upper hand of the intellectual,’ seems to do nearly nothing but lie upon sofas.”³² The *Quarterly* notices, perhaps because of its opposition to Stowe’s novel, Augustine’s alignment with the drunken fathers of temperance tales.

Uncle Tom, of course, notices the same congruence; in the very scene the *Quarterly* refers to above, Tom decides that “Mas’r wasn’t a

Christian” because St. Clare attends, among other things, “wine parties” and “a convivial party of choice spirits” from which he is assisted home in the manner so mocked by the journal (*Tom* 211). In lovingly confronting his master about these worrisome habits, Tom performs the longsuffering temperance wife’s role—left vacant by Marie, who is unloving, narcissistic, and herself something of a lush—of imploring the wayward husband to discard the hellish bottle. Chapter 18 was, in the original two-volume printing of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, situated at the very end of the first volume; this exchange between Tom and St. Clare happens halfway through the book, at the very spot where one would expect to find the “wife’s appeal” in a temperance narrative.

Tom’s bodily posture in this moment, as he drops to his knees before the man of the house, echoes that of the angelic woman in countless temperance tales. Consider, for example, Hentz’s “The Drunkard’s Daughter,” in which the titular character confronts her father: “Excited beyond her power of self-control, Kate slid from her father’s relaxing arms, and taking the Bible, which lay upon her chair, in both hands, prostrated herself at his feet.”³³ Tom’s appeal is Kate’s appeal, full of love and respect, rather than revulsion. Like Kate, clasping her Bible to her as she falls, Tom appeals to scripture, quoting Proverbs 23:32, common in temperance tracts, sermons, and as an epigraph for temperance stories.

Tom becomes, in essence, the angel of the St. Clare house, a surrogate wife to Augustine and, as her playmate and spiritual advisor, a surrogate mother to Little Eva. St. Clare’s response to Tom during this exchange also gestures toward temperance rhetoric. He does not promise, but rather says, “I’ll *pledge* my honor to you” (my emphasis), recalling the temperance pledges signed at meetings and printed in newspapers and tracts; the signing of the temperance pledge is the climax of many temperance stories, and Stowe’s choice of the word pledge seems purposefully chosen to recall those familiar documents.

Commonplace as these elements would have been, though, there is also something unmistakably revolutionary here—or there would have been to contemporary readers—as the slave asserts moral authority over his master, instructing him as an angelic wife should. Moreover, the scene’s nod toward temperance texts is precisely what both allows and diffuses the radicalism implicit in this confrontation. An uncanny feeling of reversion—power roles switched or in flux—is also what infuses the “wife’s appeal” moment in temperance fiction. After an early, embarrassing episode of drunkenness in “The Drunkard’s Wife,” Grace Harper realizes that her husband “had fallen from his noble, manly character, and became degraded in intellect. . . . She felt that she could no longer regard him with the unalloyed pride and admiration, which had ever made him

seem to her, unlike other Men.” A few pages later, after she urges her husband to reform, the narrator notes, “Here, then, were the first fruits of conscious degradation. The husband felt humbled in the presence of his own wife. . . .”³⁴

Tom’s confrontation with St. Clare echoes this unease. Tom is embarrassed; he first speaks “with his back to his master,” and only falls to his knees and cries when emotion assumes control of the moment. St. Clare also begins crying, but attempts to deflect Tom’s earnest probes, first by forced laughter, and then by calling the slave a “poor, silly fool.” Both of these reactions read as anxiety; they acknowledge the paradox of the scene’s power relations: Tom’s humble posture belies his moral superiority, which in turn unbalances the normative line of authority from master to slave. Both men are uncomfortable, as are both spouses in similar temperance scenes, with the role reversal that initiates the admonitory encounter.

This observation can be pushed even farther. Carol Mattingly argues persuasively that the temperance issue offered female activists a proto-feminist platform, “an ideal vehicle for speaking about women’s concerns.” Despite these stories’ apparent roots in conservative, domestic ideology, they also gave voice to “women’s often dangerous dependency on men.” The focus of temperance stories on “[w]omen’s inability to protect themselves or their children from abusive, irresponsible husbands” demonstrates, for Mattingly, a particular concern with women’s lives and women’s issues, a concern that paved the way for later, more radical, movement toward equal rights.³⁵ Claybaugh goes so far as to call “female vulnerability within the family and within the domestic sphere” the “fundamental concern” of domestic temperance fiction, above even concerns about the moral, spiritual, or physiological effects of alcohol itself.³⁶

As both Mattingly and Tyrell note, much temperance rhetoric borrowed terms of slavery to describe the dysfunctional marital relationship. Clarina Howard Nichols, in a speech delivered at the “Whole World’s Temperance Convention” in September of 1853, said of the American wife, “The laws of this country have *bound her hand and foot*, and given her up to the protection of her husband. They have committed her *soul and body* to the protection of her husband, and when he fails from imbecility, misjudgement, misfortune, or intemperance, she suffers.”³⁷ This speech was delivered a year after *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was published, but by this time, the metaphor linking slavery and marriage was well developed; Tyrell notes that by the early 1840s “[s]lavery was undoubtedly useful in developing imagery which could capture female discontent with male domination.”³⁸ The moment of the wife’s plea, while always cast as a moment of absolute submission—bent knee and lowered head—is also,

paradoxically, a moment of empowerment.

The wife's plea enacts what Tompkins describes as the sentimental "*theory of power in which the ordinary or 'common sense' view of what is efficacious and what is not . . . is simply reversed.*"³⁹ While both woman and narrator are ostensibly horrified that the wife must assert spiritual, moral, and reasonable authority over her husband, the scene powerfully typifies the injustice of her absolute dependence on a degraded man, and the mere emotional and rhetorical defense available to her against his caprices. If not a clarion call to sexual equality, temperance fiction did expose imbalances in familial power structures, "articulate a range of otherwise inarticulable complaints about marriage," and address issues of immense concern to middle-class women.⁴⁰

Given this framework, then, Stowe's placement of Tom, an African-American slave and a man, in the position of the temperance wife is remarkable. If temperance fiction cast the wife as a slave, then Tom's placement here recalls and reclaims that metaphor.⁴¹ Tom's appeal, while ostensibly—and again, from Tom's perspective, honestly—arising from concern about St. Clare, also serves to point directly toward Tom's absolute vulnerability. St. Clare is kind, he is indulgent, but he is also airy and negligent, and his slaves, however well treated under his benevolence, stand as ready victims to his "shiftlessness."

Ophelia tries on several occasions to point out the exposure of St. Clare's slaves, asking if he has "ever made any provisions for your servants, in case of your death?" and warning, "all your indulgence to them may prove a great cruelty, by and by" (*Tom* 318). St. Clare makes light of Ophelia's warnings, but it is interesting that she, a female character, is able to identify the precarious position that his slaves stand in, as absolutely tied to her nephew's good or bad fortunes. Tom worries in his appeal that drink "will be *loss of all—all—body and soul*" for St. Clare and, though he never mentions it, he also speaks of his own body and soul, which are inexorably tied to his careless master's. Like the temperance wife, Tom pleads for his master, but the plea is also by cruel and necessary extension a plea for himself, and a familiar plea to Stowe's readers.

This moment of appeal is the most apparent intersection between Tom's story and temperance tales. However, once one recognizes the congruence of the two strains, then Tom's entire narrative can be read as a retelling of the temperance tale, with Tom in the wife's role throughout; *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in this reading emerges as a new protest narrative modeled closely and purposively on the familiar radicalism of its ideologi-

cal and political predecessors. Tom's story is not a downward spiral tied to one rapidly dilapidating, authoritative man, but his successive masters each resemble the temperance drunkard at increasingly depraved stages of his condition. And the novel makes clear that each master is a bit more liberal with spirits than the last; though the drinks are props to the main drama, they point readers toward the temperance figure that Arthur Shelby, Augustine St. Clare, Simon Legree, and George Shelby each in turn embody. The demon of slavery, once again, is closely hitched to demon rum, and the two symbols are knit in the succession of masters shaping Uncle Tom's tragedy.

The reader first encounters Tom in what is, given his enslavement, a scene of comfort and security—surrounded by his family, both immediate and, given his intimacy with young George, extended. That Tom is introduced surrounded by children has led many critics to argue that Stowe is purposefully working to feminize, or at least domesticate, his character.⁴² That Tom is introduced with his master's son, George, indicates metaphorical familial ties with Mr. Shelby himself. In the house nearby this scene of contentment and peace, however, “two gentlemen were sitting alone *over their wine*. . . . There were no servants present” (*Tom* 7; my emphasis). As there are no women in temperance-tale taverns, there are no servants—read slaves—present as Mr. Shelby and Haley do their sordid business. Mattingly presciently notes that, by placing alcohol so prominently in the scene, “Stowe quickly reveals the nature of the slave trader Haley”: the wine is centered between the men, however, and its presence reveals Arthur Shelby's role in the budding drama as well.⁴³

Like first-stage temperance drunkards, Mr. Shelby is no villain but rather “a fair average kind of man, good-natured and kindly.” He has, however, “speculated largely and quite loosely,” and now, over a glass of wine, he initiates Tom's long descent (*Tom* 15). George Aiken's theatrical adaptation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* emphasizes the alcoholic presence in this scene; Haley is specifically directed to drink twice and fill his own glass two times, and another prompt directs both men's glasses to be filled, indicating that Mr. Shelby is also drinking. Shelby's glass of wine speaks volumes: the well-trained temperance reader knows that a single drink quickly multiplies, attended by miseries.

By the time Tom falls to his knees before Augustine St. Clare, his trajectory, as mapped onto temperance tales, is already plotted. Despite St. Clare's pledge to Tom, and despite his private resolution, “I'll keep my faith with him, too,” the temperance reader knows he will not (*Tom* 212). To be fair, it is not clear that St. Clare leaves home on his fateful final night to drink, but when he decides, “I believe I'll go down street, a few moments, and hear the news, to-night,” and then refuses Tom's accompani-

ment, the wheels of temperance fiction, already turning, begin to spin. The domestic temperance drunkard often vacillates between “alternations of short-lived reformations, exciting hopes only to be destroyed,” and the news St. Clare wishes to hear was often, in the mid-nineteenth century, discussed at the tavern.⁴⁴ That St. Clare will not allow Tom to come along also hints that his destination is questionable; by leaving Tom behind, St. Clare leaves behind his conscience, the angel of his house.

And indeed, St. Clare is once again brought home, near death, under the support of other men—“several men, bringing a body, wrapped in a cloak, and lying on a shutter”—explicitly recalling the drunken state which inspired Tom’s temperance appeal (*Tom* 324). St. Clare “had turned into a café” when two men, “who were both partially intoxicated,” began to fight, fatally stabbing St. Clare as he attempted to separate them. If the word “café” is ambiguous here, the scene apparently was not so to readers and later interpreters. Theatrical versions of *Uncle Tom* seem to have staged St. Clare’s fatal blow in a tavern, and in the first film version of the story (1903), St. Clare’s death-knell falls in what is unmistakably a barroom.⁴⁵ Augustine’s decision to return to the site of drinking, even if he did not himself imbibe, points once again to his “shiftlessness.” Moreover, his consistent refusal to provide insurance for his slaves heightens the peril of his return to or even toward alcohol.

St. Clare’s trip to the tavern, in the footsteps of countless temperance drunkards, invokes that earlier tradition, and instructs readers how to read the scene. Tom, helplessly following his master “to the passage, out of the court,” and then, later, pitifully supporting his dying frame, is both dutiful and vulnerable. “The Drunkard’s Daughter,” Kate, “had learned that endurance, not happiness, was her allotted portion,” and this is precisely Tom’s disposition during St. Clare’s death, as he “proceeded composedly with his work, amid the lamentations and sobs and cries of the affrighted servants.”⁴⁶ Once again, Aiken further dramatizes this tension: as St. Clare realizes, “Tom, one thing preys upon my mind—I have forgotten to sign your freedom papers. What will become of you when I am gone?” Tom only replies, “Don’t think of that, mas’r.”⁴⁷ St. Clare embodies the mid-stage temperance lush and, as countless temperance tales maintain, there is a very short leap from the lush to the reprobate drunkard, and short leap for the angel of the house into filth and despair.

In domestic temperance fiction this second, more dramatic fall ushers in the worst depravities of the tale—the shanty-home, hard labor for the wife or child, disease and death—and these are precisely the scenes that St. Clare’s death initiates for Tom. Notably, Tom’s next and final travail is where most readers see the obvious condemnation of the bottle in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, marked “in the horrid activities at Simon Legree’s planta-

tion.”⁴⁸ Simon Legree is nothing if not a nasty drunk. He drinks throughout his section of the novel: to put himself in a good mood—“Legree had been drinking to that degree that he was inclining to be very gracious”—or to keep himself in a bad mood—“Legree was just mixing himself a tumbler of punch . . . grumbling, as he did so” (*Tom* 352, 378). The very substance of Legree’s house is tainted by his wicked habit—“The wall-paper was defaced, in spots, by slops of beer and wine”—as are his slaves Quimbo, and Sambo:

Legree was often wont, when in a gracious humor, to get these two worthies into his sitting-room, and, after warming them up with whiskey, amuse himself by setting them to singing, dancing, or fighting, as the humor took him. (*Tom* 377, 383)

Legree’s abandonment to drink typifies his absolute abandonment to the slavery system, his whole-hearted embrace of its darkest realities.

When last seen, Legree is apparently dying in the throes of *delirium tremens*. The narrator reports, after Cassy and Emmeline begin performing their “authentic ghost story,” that “Legree became a harder drinker than ever before. He no longer drank cautiously, prudently, but imprudently and recklessly.” Soon he is desperately ill, and “[n]one could bear the horrors of that sick room, when he raved and screamed, and spoke of sights which almost stopped the blood of those who heard him” (*Tom* 431). The fall of Legree takes a page directly out of the sensational dark temperance story. A dark temperance strain is prominent during the last stage of Tom’s journey as well; the redemptive impulse of domestic temperance remains, however, in the figure of Tom’s fourth and final master, George Shelby.

Even as Legree disintegrates, physically and morally, “the Young Master,” as Stowe names the chapter in question, arrives on Legree’s plantation to repurchase Tom. The reader knows from the novel’s reintroduction of George that he has, with the aid of his mother, spent the past several months repairing the damage his father did to their home and business. Most important, however, is the transformative power of this scene; if Arthur Shelby stands in the place of the early drunkard, carelessly indulging in minor excesses of both spirit and enslavement, his son is the reformed drunkard, the new-minted temperance man. In a parallel scene in “The Drunkard’s Wife,” the newly-pledged Dr. Harper kneels—in an echo of his wife’s kneeling plea earlier—by the decrepit form of his wife, who is sick and worn from overwork and abuse. She declares unconditional love, “I’ve given it all to you, Doctor . . . and I’d give you my heart’s blood if it would do you any good,” and then her husband declares his reformation:

“From this hour I am a changed man—from this hour I will be to you what I was in years long passed away: the remembrance of which is still dear to me. Last night I threw myself within the sphere of the great moral reformation that is now progressing—the temperance reformation—and I feel, I know, that there is in that sphere a sustaining power that will keep me true to my pledge. For the past, I dare not ask you to forgive me. If you can, let its deeds sink as much as possible into oblivion. But for the future, take hope. In the strength of Him whose divine power is present in every good resolution, I will be true to my wife, my children and myself!”⁴⁹

Similarly, George Shelby kneels beside Uncle Tom, who overflows with charity toward all, including the succession of masters who have brought him to this low point: “Give my love to Mas’r, and dear good Missis, and everybody in the place! Ye don’t know! ‘Pears like I loves ‘em all! I loves every creatur’ everywhar!—it’s nothing *but* love! O, Mas’r George!” (*Tom* 427). This statement, perhaps difficult for the modern reader to accept, is remarkably similar to the temperance wife’s sickbed declaration, and George’s response to Tom echoes that of the reformed husband. As he kneels a few pages later on Tom’s grave, George Shelby makes his own proclamation: “Witness, eternal God...oh, witness, that, from this hour, I will do *what one man can* to drive out this cause of slavery from my land!” (*Tom* 429). Again, the main horror in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* is not drink, but slavery, and here the former slave master in essence signs a pledge for abolition, a pledge Stowe urges her readers to ratify.

If temperance fiction served “to point out women’s precarious position with regards to the law,” then Stowe’s reinsertion of temperance tropes into the abolition debate attempts to equate, in the minds of her readers, the plight of the slave, male or female, with that of the white, middle-class wife and mother.⁵⁰ Writing about the “novel of purpose” in the nineteenth century, Claybaugh draws a direct parallel between the aims of period fiction and reformist writing, seeing in both a shared “commitment to expanding the domain of representation, to depicting persons and experiences that [had] hitherto been ignored or treated unseriously, such as poverty, drunkenness, and disease . . . laborers, servants, and slaves.” Moreover, this shared purpose was understood by both writers and readers as “novels were written, published, read, and reviewed according to expectations learned from social reform,” expectations that the novel could “act on its readers—and, through its readers, the world.”⁵¹ We must remember, though, as Cynthia Griffin Wolff helpfully reminds

us, that in 1850 abolition was in the United States “an unpopular, minority cause,”⁵² while temperance activism—perhaps because drink was a problem across class and geographic boundaries, including the middle-class communities to which Stowe primarily wrote—saturated mainstream American society. Stowe’s feat in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* is that she makes slavery, as intemperance had been, “an immediate enemy” to women and, one must assume, men too, when it had previously been pushed aside in favor of a more “direct” social concern, the bottle.⁵³ In so doing, she creates space for an antislavery novel to “act on” readers who have been largely unmoved by the claims of abolition heretofore.

If “[t]he great strength of temperance leaders was their ability to meld a progressive message with a rhetorical presentation and image comfortable to a large number of women and men,” then Stowe’s use of said rhetoric and images can be read as an attempt to replicate that comfort and bring it to bear in an abolitionist project.⁵⁴ Stowe uses temperance figures to bring an alien hero into her middle-class, white readers’ parlors, to make the evil of slavery more obviously, patently evil, and to make Tom’s predicament tenuous and terrifying. Casting her dark, muscular, African-American, male protagonist in a familiar, sentimental, middle-class, female character role, Stowe uses a familiar radicalism to guide her readers’ primed responses toward an unfamiliar one. In the role of the temperance wife, Stowe seems to hope, the wide reading public would receive Tom into their thoughts and sympathies, recognize the immediacy of his plight, and take action against the evil it represents.

Notes

I would like to thank the members of the Harriet Beecher Stowe Society, Steven Knepper, and especially Stephen Railton for their comments and suggestions about earlier versions of this essay.

¹ Harriet Beecher Stowe, “Let Every Man Mind His Own Business,” in *The Mayflower; or, Sketches of Scenes and Characters among the Descendants of the Pilgrims* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843), 113 < <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/eafbin2/toccer-eaf?id=eaf383&tag=private&data=/texts/eaf/browse&part=0>>.

² Carol Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1998), 6, and John Frick, *Theater, Culture and Temperance Reform in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), 1.

³ Jack S. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston:

Twayne Publishers, 1989), 41, and Ian Tyrell, "Women and Temperance in Antebellum America," *Civil War History* 28 (1982), 132.

⁴ See Stephen Railton, "Online Commentary," in *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture: A Multi-Media Archive*, ed. Stephen Railton (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia, 2005) <www.iath.virginia.edu/utc/>. I will refer to Railton's archive frequently here, and will hereafter cite it as *UTCAC*. Interestingly, Aiken was approached to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by the Howards, whose daughter Cordelia was acting the role of the drunkard's daughter, Julia, in *The Drunkard*; she later became the first child to assume the role of Eva St. Clare in Aiken's smash hit.

⁵ Mattingly, *Tempered*, 127, 24.

⁶ William H. Smith, *The Drunkard; or, the Fallen Saved: A Moral Domestic Drama in Five Acts* (New York: Wm. Taylor and Co., 1850), *UTCAC* <www.iath.virginia.edu/utc/sentimnt/drunkardhp.html>; T. S. Arthur, "The Drunkard's Wife," in *Temperance Tales: Or, Six Nights with the Washingtonians*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Leary & Getz, 1848); Carolyn Lee Whiting Hentz, "The Drunkard's Daughter," in *Water Drops from Women Writers: A Temperance Reader*, ed. Carol Mattingly (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 2001), 94.

⁷ Nicholas O. Warner, "Temperance, Morality, and Medicine in the Fiction of Harriet Beecher Stowe," in *The Serpent in the Cup: Temperance in American Literature*, ed. David S. Reynolds and Debra J. Rosenthal (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 141.

⁸ Amanda Claybaugh, *The Novel of Purpose: Literature and Social Reform in the Anglo-American World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2007), 47.

⁹ The plot I describe is quite similar to what Claybaugh calls the "plot of doubled promises" (94) which she identifies almost exclusively with temperance fiction written by women. She makes a convincing case for the predominance of women writers among those who penned redemptive temperance stories, but as two of the major temperance authors I treat here, T. S. Arthur and William H. Smith, are men, I will use "domestic temperance" where Claybaugh often uses "women's temperance."

¹⁰ T. S. Arthur, "The Drunkard's Wife," 7.

¹¹ Hentz, 94.

¹² Arthur, 15–16.

¹³ Smith, 35.

¹⁴ Smith, v.

¹⁵ Michael R. Booth, "The Drunkard's Progress: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Drama," *Dalhousie Review* (1999), 211.

¹⁶ Booth, 207.

¹⁷ Jane P. Tompkins, "Sentimental Power: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the Politics of Literary History," *Glyph* 8 (1981), 87.

¹⁸ Warner, 143.

¹⁹ Warner, 143 and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), 241; hereafter cited parenthetically.

²⁰ Frick, 16.

²¹ Stowe, *Tom*, 76, and Anonymous, "Eddie Harold," tract (National Temperance Society, ca. 1870), *Alcohol, Temperance, and Prohibition* archive, Brown University <<http://pike.services.brown.edu/repository/repoman.php?verb=render&id=1090959217922875>>.

²² Frick, 6.

²³ Reynolds, 38.

²⁴ Even Caroline Lee Hentz, author of "The Drunkard's Daughter" above, wrote her own response to Mrs. Stowe: *The Planter's Northern Bride* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1854), UTCAC <<http://www.iath.virginia.edu/utc/proslav/hentzhp.html>>.

²⁵ Railton, "Online Commentary."

²⁶ Vidi, *Mr. Frank, the Underground Mail-Agent* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853), 47, 49, UTCAC <<http://www.iath.virginia.edu/utc/proslav/vidihp.html>>; hereafter cited parenthetically.

²⁷ This coupling of work and the site of drinking recalls Stowe's placement of Haley, Loker, and Marks in a tavern as they discuss their sordid business.

²⁸ W. L. G. Smith, *Life at the South; or, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" As It Is* (Buffalo: Geo. H. Derby and Co., 1852), 391, UTCAC <<http://www.iath.virginia.edu/utc/proslav/smithhp.html>>.

²⁹ J. W. Page, *Uncle Robin in His Cabin in Virginia, and Tom without One in Boston* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph, 1853), 55, UTCAC <<http://www.iath.virginia.edu/utc/proslav/pagehp.html>>.

³⁰ Recalling, in its very title, Hentz's "The Drunkard's Daughter."

³¹ V. G. Cowdin, *Ellen; or, the Fanatic's Daughter* (Mobile, Alabama: S. H. Goetzel & Company, 1860), 172, UTCAC <<http://www.iath.virginia.edu/utc/proslav/cowdinhp.html>>; hereafter cited parenthetically.

³² L. S. M., "[Review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*]," *Southern Quarterly Review* (January 1853), 100, UTCAC <<http://iath.virginia.edu/utc/reviews/rere113bt.html>>.

³³ Hentz, "The Drunkard's Daughter," 103.

³⁴ Arthur, 8, 11.

³⁵ Mattingly, *Tempered*, 13, 123, 14.

³⁶ Claybaugh, 88.

³⁷ Quoted in Mattingly, *Tempered*, 35.

³⁸ Tyrell, 131.

³⁹ Tompkins, 84.

⁴⁰ Claybaugh, 48.

⁴¹ Later, as Claybaugh shows in *Purpose*, both the abolition and temperance movements would contribute to the campaign for women's rights "a powerful rhetoric for articulating the suffering that took place within the home" (90). That the two could be so effectively blended in that later movement stems in part from the frequent borrowings between temperance and antislavery rhetoric during the heyday of each. These movements grew organically through, around, and into each other, and many of the same reformers championed each.

⁴² Most famously in Elizabeth Ammons, "Heroines in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," *American Literature* 49, vol. 2 (1977).

⁴³ Carol Mattingly, *Water Drops from Women Writers: A Temperance Reader* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1998), 207.

⁴⁴ Stowe, "Let Every Man," 129.

⁴⁵ The stage directions for several theatrical versions of *Uncle Tom* indicate bottles and the like as props for this scene, but the setting is not explicitly drawn. However, there are good reasons to believe the scene was set in a tavern. The bottles are one, but the scene's setting in the first movie is another, stronger reason. The first several *Uncle Tom* films were based directly on nineteenth-century stage productions, and drew their aesthetic from those earlier performances. The popular reading of this scene seems to have been that St. Clare returns to a tavern on the night of his death, though not to drink.

⁴⁶ Hentz, 96, and Stowe, *Tom*, 325.

⁴⁷ George L. Aiken, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; a Domestic Drama, in Six Acts* (New York, Samuel French, 1858), 41, UTCAC <<http://iath.virginia.edu/utc/onstage/scripts/aikenhp.html>>.

⁴⁸ Mattingly, *Drops*, 207.

⁴⁹ Arthur, 43–44.

⁵⁰ Mattingly, *Tempered*, 14.

⁵¹ Claybaugh, 6, 7.

⁵² Cynthia Griffin Wolff, “‘Masculinity’ in Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” *American Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1995), 598.

⁵³ Tyrell, 131.

⁵⁴ Mattingly, *Tempered*, 2.